

Speech
delivered to
the European Parliament
by

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Mr. Chairman,

At a recent meeting of the Committee of Presidents, you recommended the rapporteurs — with a view to facilitating the work of the European Parliament — to refrain from repeating the actual substance of their reports when presenting them. I shall make a point of complying with this suggestion in submitting the report of the Commission of the European Atomic Energy Community. Whilst merely singling out the salient features of the Community's development in the course of the past year, I intend to enter into greater detail in connection with the task of building the new Europe, to which we are contributing in every way which lies within our power. I hope in this way to supplement yesterday's political debate.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

One facet of our task consists in what I would call our responsibility as a public authority. This

responsibility covers in particular the fields of health and safety and safeguards and controls, in both of which the Commission has pursued its activities, on the one hand aimed at ensuring the application of the Basic Standards and on the other at implementing the safeguards and controls laid down in the Treaty.

Whilst appreciable progress has been made in these two fields, the importance of which cannot be too strongly emphasized, the Commission is still far from having fulfilled its task, which will be pursued with the firm determination to ensure that all the provisions of the Treaty are respected.

In the field of insurance against nuclear accidents, where the Commission can do no more than encourage and spur on Member States to adopt the appropriate legislative measures, we hope that the last remaining difficulties with regard to the elaboration of the supplementary convention, which will round off the whole structure, will soon be overcome.

I should like to say rather more about the role of the Commission in the development of what I shall refer to as the nuclear competence of the Community.

Last year, we reported on the delays which had arisen in the setting up of the Joint Research Centre. It gives me pleasure to be able to say today that the difficulties have meanwhile been cleared up and that the delays have to a large extent been made good. If, as we hope, the Council accepts in the near future our supplementary budget proposals for the current year and if it approves our budgetary proposals for 1962, we shall be in a position to make full and, we earnestly believe, effective use of the entire 215 million units of account provided by the Treaty for our first five-year programme.

The Ispra establishment is now developing apace. The Central Nuclear Measurements Bureau at Mol is fulfilling its task, whilst the Institute for Transuranic Elements at Karlsruhe is under construction. With regard to Petten, we believe that an agreement will be reached very shortly, enabling us to embark on our activities there.

The size of our research staff has now passed the 1,100 mark, and we hope to reach the figure of 1,700 between now and the end of the current year.

Our research activity under contracts of association has been continued and extended, both within the Community, in such fields as fusion, marine propulsion studies, the operation of the Mol very high flux reactor and the newly opened-up field relating to the agricultural uses of ionizing radiations, and outside the Community countries, in the Halden reactor and the Dragon reactor.

More than a hundred contracts have been placed with national research centres or with industrial establishments in the Community countries, thereby helping them to gain experience in the nuclear field, whilst at the same time making an appreciable contribution to the implementation of the Community's research programme.

With regard to the use of nuclear reactors for electricity production, economic conditions constitute a serious difficulty for the immediate future. This difficulty is encountered not only in the Community, but also in countries such as Great Britain, which has had to cut back its programme, and the United States, where the rate of development in this field has not come up to expectations. In order to prevent this situation

from causing delay in the development of nuclear industries in the Community, the Commission has had to submit proposals to the Council which, by means of limited financial contributions, should make it possible for the existing economic handicap and the risks connected with startup to be diminished, whilst enabling the practical knowledge resulting from the construction and operation of industrial reactors to be made available to the Community.

The acquisition of this knowledge, both by the constructors and by the electricity producers, and the development of genuine nuclear competence are essential, since the prospects for the development of nuclear energy, as outlined by us last year, have been amply confirmed by all the data which have come to light since. It is safe to say that, although for the moment nuclear electricity production is competitive only in regions where the conventional energy sources are costly, by 1970 or even earlier, reductions in production prices — resulting rather from technological progress and improvements than from new discoveries — will ensure that the situation is competitive by comparison with the average conditions of electricity production in the Community. There is every chance that we shall then witness a phenomenon similar to that which has recently taken place with regard to air transport. As soon as it became clear to the airlines that jet propulsion was more advantageous than the internal combustion engine, orders were transferred on a large scale and concentrated almost exclusively on the new type of machine. Constructors who were unable to supply jet aircraft were suddenly deserted in favour of those who had taken the trouble to familiarize themselves with the new technique. There is every likelihood that a changeover of this kind may occur before the end of the 1960's in the field of

electricity production. Those constructors who have not succeeded in acquiring the necessary experience and reputation will be deserted overnight and will be left to cater only for the restricted circle of those who are able to utilize the limited sources of power which will remain competitive in price.

Does this imply that coal and diesel oil will suddenly cease to be used for the production of electricity? Certainly not, as the coal- and oil-fired power stations will continue to be utilized for the whole of their industrial lives, and new conventional power stations will be constructed in places where the traditional fuels will still be in a position to compete with nuclear energy.

By situating these prospects in the context of the fundamental problem of the Community's power supply as a whole and of what is known as the coordination of energy, we could then draw the following conclusions, to serve as signposts guiding us towards a rational solution.

Mankind no longer risks being faced with a power shortage. There is no further need, therefore, to be thrifty with natural resources — quite the contrary — apart from the quantities intended for chemical uses, we should take the fullest advantage of investments which have already been made by using up the reserves before they lose their value as a result of competition from cheaper nuclear energy.

Energy supplies will be ensured once our industries have acquired the necessary technical competence in the nuclear field. At the same time, the substantial burden imposed on the balance of payments by a shortage of power supplies will likewise disappear.

We are therefore faced with a problem of transition, presenting first and foremost a social aspect, as in certain regions where activities are

concentrated entirely on mining, a certain amount of time will be necessary for installing new activities and adapting the workers to other techniques.

The problem of transition involves also the question of maintaining, until such time as the desired rate of production of nuclear electricity has been reached, an adequate supply of conventional fuel.

Our progress in the field of research, by making us more effective partners than when we could merely afford a glimpse of future prospects, has enabled us to expand our external relations. Our relations with Latin America have been inaugurated by a recently-signed agreement with Brazil. We have every reason for satisfaction at the collaboration with our Canadian partners and at the recently-established relations with the United States administration, which offer prospects of joint activities in a wider field than hitherto.

With regard to Great Britain, our relations are continuing, both for the Dragon project and with regard to round-table discussions and exchanges of information. Naturally, these relations would be radically transformed were Great Britain to decide to join the Communities. We could not but express satisfaction at the prospect of having a partner of such acknowledged authority in the nuclear field, but it goes without — and I wish to stress this point — saying that it would be at variance with the interests of Europe if a geographical extension of the Community were to be accompanied by a dilution and diminution of reciprocal obligations.

I should now like to come to the last point — which calls for the most important developments, concerning as it does the unification of Europe.

By our day-to-day activities in the tasks mapped out for us by the Treaty, we not only endeavour to attain that nuclear competence which is indispensable for economic progress and for improving the standard of living of our peoples, but we also seek to bring about the creation of a European spirit, without which all our efforts would be in vain.

In our administration, in our research centres, in the teams which we are sending to participate in activities under the system of associations and contracts, we are developing European cells widely distributed over the whole territory of the Community. The nationals of our six countries are acquiring the habit of working together, of getting to know each other, of overcoming prejudices, and of appreciating and respecting each other's qualities. In this connection, I can bear witness to the fact that in our day-to-day work, despite language problems, no difficulty has arisen to hamper useful cooperation. On the contrary, on the basis of the spontaneous emulation which results, as well as of the complementary character of the different educational backgrounds and mental approaches it is possible to achieve a degree of efficiency which would be inconceivable in a group formed of nationals of a single country. At this point, I should like to express my gratitude to our entire staff for the effort they have made in initial conditions which were sometimes difficult, and I should like to tell the European Parliament that we are relying on its support, and in particular on its willingness to examine the draft Statute in the very near future, since our staff, and understandably so, is impatiently expecting to be provided with a definitive Statute as soon as possible.

We are also ensuring the development of this European spirit by means of the European

Schools. Our elder sister organization, the European Coal and Steel Community, showed the way by setting up the Luxembourg School, which has been an unqualified success. Subsequently, together with the Common Market, we set up and developed the Brussels School. Last autumn, we opened two new schools for our research centres in Varese and Mol, and we plan to do likewise at Karlsruhe and Petten, once our research centres there are developed.

You are aware of the efforts we have made for the creation of the European University in Florence. I shall not go into this at any great length, as it is already on your agenda, to be dealt with in a report by President Geiger. I earnestly hope that this undertaking, so eagerly awaited and so vital to the cultural values which we prize so highly, will soon become a reality.

I would ask your permission also to mention, only for the record — in view of last week's thorough debate — the relations with those African States which have recently acquired their independence, and the plan for creating a Development Institute, which aroused such great interest on their part.

A little over a year ago, I had the opportunity to propose officially on this platform, on behalf of the Commission, the merging of the Executives. We were extremely gratified to note that this proposal, apart from receiving the support of this Parliament, was also approved by the High Authority as well as by the Commission of the European Economic Community. In this field, too, matters did not develop with the rapidity which we had hoped for, but I am glad to be able to inform you today that the Dutch Government submitted a formal plan two days ago for putting this amalgamation into effect.

The Treaties, and particularly Article 204 of the Euratom Treaty, stipulate that both the European Parliament and ourselves must be consulted on the taking of such a step. Without waiting for such formal consultation to take place, I can say as of now that the Euratom Commission is very favourably disposed towards the proposed text, which provides for full compliance with the conditions laid down last year, i.e. that no encroachments should be made on the authority of the individual Communities and that the new single Executive should exercise all the powers vested in our respective Executives by the Treaties. The Dutch Government's submission also provides for the amalgamation of the Councils of Ministers, an arrangement which, in our view, would be of irrefragable practical advantage.

It is a matter for regret that nothing has yet come of the proposals which this Parliament so energetically put forward concerning the election of deputies by universal and direct suffrage. It is our opinion that those who claim to advocate the consolidation of the Communities should lose no opportunity to grasp the advantage which would be placed in their hands by such an electoral mandate.

In this connection, I should like to revert to a number of principles which Mr. Vendroux outlined in his speech yesterday.

I must admit that although I can subscribe fully to these principles, I am rather surprised at the conclusions Mr. Vendroux draws from them.

Mr. Vendroux rightly stresses the importance of creating the « Europe of feelings », but he then goes on to say that the competence of the European Parliament should be limited to what we call stewardship, to use a term which has now become traditional. I am not at all sure that

this is the best way of developing the « Europe of feelings ».

Mr. Vendroux rightly points out that an essential task of the European Parliament is to develop public relations, whilst adding that he is not familiar with the French translation of this expression. Although this term is certainly not to be found in Littré's dictionary, I think it may well be found in the hearts of democrats, for democracy, in the same way as Europe, is also a feeling. When applied to parliamentarians, the translation of this expression is : « Election campaigning and rendering an account of one's mandate ». Hence, the best way for a parliamentary assembly to develop public relations is to go before the electorate.

Since I am taking the liberty of commenting upon certain points of Mr. Vendroux' speech, I should also like to revert to a phrase of his which seems to me to be highly important.

Mr. Vendroux said that great problems call for caution. Now, ladies and gentlemen, my impression is that caution is a minor virtue more suited to small than to great problems. When it comes to major problems, then imagination, breadth of vision and a bold approach are needed.

Indeed, ladies and gentlemen, we should not have been gathered here today had it not been for the bold approach of the emeritus president of the European Parliament, whose seventy-fifth birthday we are celebrating today. For what could be bolder than to extend the hand of friendship to Germany, barely five years after the end of hostilities, a gesture which gave birth to the development of the European Community ?

I should now like to draw your attention to those arrangements which, although not founded on any textual basis, are nevertheless of vital significance for the working of the Communities. I am referring here to official Community representation in those countries where there is a particular purpose to be served by such a measure. In any action undertaken by international organizations or in conjunction with non-member states, we must also ensure that any issues concerning the Communities are, without prejudice to the corresponding Treaty provisions, coordinated in advance between the Community countries and that a Commission representative is appointed as single spokesman.

In the pass which the world has now reached, a predicament in which the lack of a European voice which can speak with undisputed authority represents a failing of truly dramatic proportions, is it really possible for us to rest content with our Community-level institutions as at present defined in the three Treaties? I am thinking here of yesterday's debate between Mr. Bohy and Mr. Dehousse, and I take this opportunity of placing our point of view before you. All the attempts so far made to get beyond this level have certainly met with setbacks. It suffices, in this connection, to recall the ad hoc Assembly and the European Defence Community. But should we, on that account, allow ourselves to be discouraged by doubts, delays or backslidings? There is, after all, a traditional pilgrimage within the Community in which the custom is to go two steps back for every three paces forward. This does not, however, prevent the pilgrims from getting there in the end. This pilgrim's pace, although imposing a considerable strain on our forbearance, has one advantage: it makes it possible for the laggards to catch up with the rest. Among those who, at the time, were inimical

both towards the political and the defence community, are there not many who now, in their hearts, since we do not go in for the practice of public self-criticism, today bitterly regret the obstacles which they put in the way of these developments ?

The time is probably not yet ripe, as I note with regret, for anticipating the extension of the federal practices, which are adopted within the Communities, to the political sphere, but there is no denying the importance and the urgency of setting out along this course of action.

A great many obstacles still remain to be overcome, and the greatest of them all is : distrust. A real Europe can be built only on a basis of complete equality between all the participants. The only pre-eminence, not to speak of hegemony, which can emerge will spring from the acknowledgement of an intellectual and spiritual primacy to which each nation, whatever its size, can lay claim.

In order to make effective progress towards political cooperation, even if it is impossible, for the time being, to speak of integration, the first need is to avoid anything which may tend to weaken the Community institutions as they exist in their present form. This means that all questions which, by virtue of the Treaties of Paris or Rome, fall within the express terms of reference of these institutions, must not be dealt with by any other instance. What is most important : it must not be possible for a meeting of heads of states or governments to replace the Councils of Ministers of the Communities. It also means that, whenever such a meeting tables for discussion any issue even indirectly concerning one of the Communities, the Executive involved must be consulted and must participate in the debate.

I should like to draw your attention to the difference existing between the formula I have just been expounding and that contained in paragraph 7(b) of the draft resolution which has just been distributed.

In this paragraph 7 (b), the door is opened for discussion, in this non-Community body for which no provision is made in the Treaties, of questions which come within the competence of the Executives. This is a deviation which I feel that I should point out, for if we deprive the institutions and in particular the Council of Ministers of the prerogatives conferred upon them by the Treaties, we shall very soon find that the Council of Ministers will be reduced to the level of an internal body and the provisions concerning the voting procedures will automatically disappear.

I did not, however, wish to confine myself to expounding these precautionary measures. In the positive sense of the new action to be undertaken, it would be an unforgivable mistake not to make use of the concrete experience which the Communities have gained.

This experience, in fact, shows that if the intention is to arrive at unity of opinion and a concerted course of action, we must avoid confining ourselves to the comparison of strictly national viewpoints and concentrate instead on ensuring that the problems are studied really in common. In practice, this means that, if the meetings of heads of states or governments are to culminate in unity of purpose or action, the far-reaching problems which they have decided to raise must be the subject of preliminary studies and proposals drawn up, not by the representatives of states or chancelleries, but by a group of men who are selected by joint

agreement, who work together, who receive no brief from the individual governments and who are responsible solely to the conference of chiefs of states or governments.

Experience also bears witness to the importance of the function fulfilled by this Parliament. It shows the inability of sectional and national interests to deflect the course of your deliberations from their purpose and that you constitute the true voice of the European conscience.

It is therefore essential that periodic discussions be held to keep you fully informed of the pattern of developments and that it be made possible for you to debate the work accomplished by this group as well as the decisions taken by the Conference of Heads of States or Governments.

This formula does not, at this stage, involve any loss of sovereignty or any delegation of power, and does not therefore require any formal deed. If it were put to the test, I am perfectly certain that some significant results would ensue, and that we should be making a giant stride forward towards that community which we are destined to attain and which is our last hope both for the fruition of those values of progress and liberty by which we set such store and for the preservation of peace in the world.